

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY MADRID

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LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, SP, US

SUBJECT DEFENSE COMPATIBILITY ACTION PLAN

REF: (A) MADRID 1768 (NOTAL)

(B) STATE 81598 (NOTAL)

(C) MADRID 6265 (NOTAL)

(D) MADRID 6352 (NOTAL)

(E) MADRID 6472 (NOTAL)

(F) USNATO 6014 (NOTAL)

1. FYI WE AGREE WITH APPROACH MENTIONED PARA 7 REF (D).
AMBASSADOR SHOULD PROCEED TO DISCUSS AND DEVELOP THOSE
ELEMENTS OF US ACTION PROGRAMS (REFS A AND B) NOT AFFECTED
BY BROAD GOS RESERVATIONS LISTED PARA 4 OF REF C: BEYOND
THIS, WE WOULD LIKE TO ACCOMMODATE TO GOS PROPOSALS ONLY
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TO THE EXTENT NECESSARY TO KEEP THIS PLAN FROM BECOMING
A MATTER OF SERIOUS POLITICAL CONTENTION. IF RENEWED
AGREEMENT IN 1975 SHOULD TAKE TREATY FORM, WE WOULD BE
IN A POSITION TO GO FURTHER. IN INTERIM, ALTHOUGH WE CAN

GO PART WAY TOWARD MEETING GOS DESIRES, I.E., THROUGH CAREFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF FIVE POINT ACTION PLAN, WE CANNOT ADDRESS ISSUES IN SUBSTANCE WHICH WOULD PREJUDICE OUR "NO COMMITMENTS" POSITION VIS-A-VIS CONGRESS. END FYI.

2. COMMENTS ON GENERAL SPANISH RESERVATIONS FOLLOW IN ORDER LISTED REF C:

A. GEOGRAPHIC ZONES OF COMMON INTEREST

(1) AMBASSADOR ALREADY AWARE OF INHERENT DIFFICULTIES IN DEFINING GEOGRAPHIC ZONE OR ZONES OF COMMON INTEREST. RECENT ME CRISIS ONLY SERVED TO POINT UP ONE BASIC DIVERGENCE IN GOS AND USG INTERESTS IN THIS RESPECT: WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE BEEN ABLE TO USE SPANISH BASES IN RESUPPLY EFFORT, BUT SPANISH PREEMPTED FOR FEAR OF OFFENDING ARABS (AND OTHER REASONS OUTLINED REF E). AT SAME TIME, SPAIN WOULD PRESUMABLY BE DELIGHTED IF WE WERE TO AGREE TO PLAN FOR USE OF THESE SAME FACILITIES IN THEIR BEHALF AGAINST WESTERN ARABS IN THE "PROXY WAR" SCENARIO. SINCE NEITHER THEY NOR WE CAN HAVE IT BOTH WAYS (FOR DIFFERENT REASONS), SPECIFIC MENTION OF EITHER OF THESE AREAS AS ZONES OF COMMON INTEREST WOULD SEEM TO BE RULED OUT A PRIORI. FURTHERMORE, ANYTHING THAT SMACKED OF CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR A THEORETICAL SPANISH-NORTH AFRICAN CONFLICT, WITH OR WITHOUT BENEFIT OF "PROXY" SITUATION, IS POLITICALLY OUT OF QUESTION FOR USG. CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION WOULD BE IMMEDIATE AND SEVERE WERE NEWS OF SUCH PLANNING TO LEAK. FINAL ASPECT OF PROBLEM IS THAT ANY DEFINITION OF A "ZONE OF COMMON INTEREST" WHICH WE MIGHT REDUCE TO WRITING IN THIS COMPATIBILITY PLAN IS BOUND TO LOOK TO THE CONGRESS LIKE A SECURITY COMMITMENT WHICH, THE MEMBERS BELIEVE, SHOULD BE CONTAINED, IF AT ALL, IN A FORMAL TREATY.

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(2) NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE PREPARED HEAR OUT GOS PROPOSAL IN DETAIL FOR THE RECORD. WE HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO SIDETRACK THIS ISSUE AT THE OUTSET BY EXPLAINING OUR PROBLEMS TO GOS AS CLEARLY AS YOU DEEM NECESSARY. IF GOS PERSISTS IN CONTINUING THE TOPIC, YOU SHOULD REQUEST FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS.

B. CONSIDERATIONS OF US REQUESTS

YOU MAY TELL GOS THAT, AS MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO ADVISE GOS OF UNDERLYING MILITARY AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH ANY INITIAL SPECIAL REQUEST FOR UNUSUAL FACILITY USE IN ACCORDANCE WITH PROVISIONS OF THE AFC AND WITHIN THE LIMITS PERMITTED BY US LAW.

LIMITS PERMITTED BY US LAW.

- C. US STRATEGIC PLANS AFFECTING SPANISH INTERESTS
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(1) FYI. WITHOUT NATO APPROVAL, WE CANNOT DISCUSS NATO PLANS FOR DEFENSE OF THE NATO AREA. ALTHOUGH

PURSUIT OF THIS OBJECTIVE IN NATO CHANNELS MIGHT BE USEFUL IN PROMOTING CLOSER SPAIN-NATO TIES, SUCH AN ENDEAVOR WOULD INVOLVE RISKS WHICH SHOULD BE ASSESSED CAREFULLY. WE WOULD BE WILLING TO DEVELOP A SCENARIO WHEREIN NATO AUTHORITIES WOULD BE INFORMED OF OUR INTENT TO FURTHER CONFIDE IN THE SPANISH WITH RESPECT TO US USE OF SPANISH FACILITIES IN SUPPORT OF NATO SECURITY OBJECTIVES. THIS WOULD NOT ENTAIL ASKING FOR ALLIED CONSENT TO DISCUSS NATO WAR PLANS. THIS APPROACH WOULD, HOWEVER, PROVIDE US WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN TO OUR ALLIES THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF SPANISH BASES AND TO ADVISE THEM THAT CLOSER NATO COOPERATION IS NECESSARY IF WE ARE TO MAINTAIN OUR PRESENT BASING POSTURE IN SPAIN BEYOND 1975. END FYI.

(2) IN OUR PROPOSED COMPATIBILITY PLAN OUTLINE PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN AT THE 24 OCTOBER 1972 JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING, WE STATED IN GENERAL TERMS THE EXPECTED USE OF THE BASE FACILITIES IN DEFENSE OF
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WESTERN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. WE HAVE REVIEWED THE SITUATION TO DETERMINE IF WE CAN BE MORE FORTHCOMING IN THIS AREA AND BELIEVE THAT A BRIEFING ALONG THE LINES OF YOUR ACTION PROGRAM II SHOULD HELP ALLEVIATE SPANISH CONCERNS IN THIS AREA. WE VISUALIZE THAT THE SCOPE OF THE BRIEFING WOULD COVER AS A MINIMUM THE WARSAW PACT THREAT (INCLUDING THE MEDITERRANEAN AND SOUTHERN FLANK); US FORCES FOR DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE; AND THE ROLE OF SPANISH BASES IN THE REINFORCEMENT AND SUPPORT OF US FORCES IN EUROPE. THIS BRIEFING SHOULD BE DEVELOPED IN EUROPE IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE OVERALL ACTION PLAN SCENARIO OUTLINED REF (A) AND SHOULD BE GIVEN TO GOS PRIOR TO NEXT JOINT COMMITTEE MEETING. IN THIS WAY WE CAN DEMONSTRATE OUR DESIRE TO MOVE AHEAD WITH KEY ELEMENT OF ACTION PLAN.

(3) THIS APPROACH, AS WELL AS OTHER US ACTIONS, WILL BE INFLUENCED BY DEVELOPMENTS RESULTING FROM THE MOST RECENT SPANISH INITIATIVE CONCERNING NATO (REF. F).

D. SPANISH MISSIONS

SPANISH OBVIOUSLY HAVE STRUCTURED THEIR ARMED FORCES TO RESPOND TO CERTAIN SITUATIONS IN WHICH VITAL

INTERESTS, AS PERCEIVED BY GOS PLANNERS, HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED (E.G., NORTH AFRICAN "PROXY" SITUATION). WE ASSUME THAT THIS PARTICULAR SPANISH RESERVATION IS CONNECTED TO A POSSIBLE NATO/WARSAW PACT WAR. THUS IT WOULD SEEM APPROPRIATE THAT IF WE PRESENT A BRIEFING ALONG LINES

OF PARA 2C ABOVE, GOS WOULD RECIPROCATATE BY BRIEFING ON THEIR VISUALIZATION OF THE ROLE THAT SPANISH FORCES WOULD PLAY IN A NATO/WARSAW PACT WAR. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT ANY DIALOGUE ON SPECIFIC MISSIONS FOR SPANISH FORCES WOULD QUICKLY RAISE LOS, GIBRALTAR AND THE "COMMITMENT" ISSUES. THE RESULTING DIALOGUE COULD BE A COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AND POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE EXERCISE. OR IT COULD SERVE TO EDUCATE THE GOS ARMED FORCES TO OUR POINT OF VIEW.

E. LIMITED ("PROXY") SITUATION
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WE DO NOT SEE HOW WE CAN IMPROVE UPON APPROACH NOTED BY AMBASSADOR IN PARA 1 REF A, CONCERNING GOS "PROXY WAR" ISSUE, EVEN THOUGH WE RECOGNIZE THAT SPANISH PERCEPTIONS OF THIS "THREAT" ARE REAL FOR THEM.

3. WE WOULD APPRECIATE BEING KEPT ABREAST OF RESULTS OF ONGOING DISCUSSIONS IN PS ON SUBJECT OF COMPATIBILITY PLAN. KISSINGER

NOTE BY OC/T - LIMDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR. SARROS.
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